21 Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1967 SOII Bahia Brasiliana SOII
VILA RECÔNCAVO

(tamancos), or perhaps leather shoes. Women wear a dress and a slip and are usually barefoot. Dress-up occasions also call for undergarments, stockings, and shoes. Great modesty is always shown about exposing oneself in front of others. Few of the men shave themselves, going to the barber for this as well as for haircuts. There are several women who are experts at hair straightening, which they do with a flat-iron, although most women and girls in this class who have the problem of straightening their hair know how to do it themselves.

In Class C as well as in Class B the father is the dominant person. He rules the household. He is the one who is served at meals, whose clothing is always clean and pressed, and who goes out the most. He spends much of his leisure time in one of the several stores, talking and taking an occasional drink of rum; or on one of the few shaded corners playing dominoes with his friends; or else in the bar playing billiards and gossiping. As a rule he goes to the movies alone, or at least without his family, although in the higher echelons of the class families often go to the movies and to church together. There is one family which is musically inclined, and which often spends evenings at home together, making up a small orchestra. If there is a samba in someone's house, many men from this class will be there watching, while the participants are usually single women and girls from the same class. The men will discuss a woman's physical attributes while she is in the center of the ring dancing. This is one of the most common ways in which a girl gets "looked over" and is watched as she develops. Sooner or later some man will fall in love with her (apaixonar-se dela), and if she is not well guarded by her family he will eventually have an affair with her. In the case of fishermen, most of the time is taken up either by fishing or by caring for equipment, for the nets need a good deal of attention. Since the fishermen's hours follow the tides, their working hours differ from day to day. They often go to bed early, in anticipation of getting up at three or four in the morning.

The women, on the other hand, follow a more regular daily routine of getting the morning coffee ready, getting the children off to school, going for water and wood, doing the ever-present laundry and ironing, and caring for the younger children. In addition, if possible, they prepare xangô to help supplement the family income and go to the fair in Centro on Mon-

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOII Bahia Brazilians SOH

Not listed among the members is a dark mixed-blood of distinguished bearing, probably Bahia's leading colored citizen, son of a white planter and a black slave, able engineer, once federal senator, president of an important intellectual and social organization, and "authority" on the Tupi language. However, an officer of the club, a white banker from one of the leading families whose aristocratic lineage, general competence, and recent contribution of a governor to the state and a federal senator to the national *camara* unquestionably admits its members to the most exclusive circles, once remarked that "if this distinguished colored citizen should sometime apply for membership, there would be no doubt that a man of his intelligence, refinement, and professional competence would be accepted without serious question."

In the schools there is no segregation in any form. Students, however, are predominantly white and light mulatto. The participation of blacks is somewhat limited, and there is a progressive elimination of the darker shades as one climbs the educational ladder. Illiteracy is high, especially in the lower class, in which, as we have seen, blacks and dark mulattoes predominate.

Table 13 indicates more equable participation of the blacks in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to Negro children, concentrated as their parents are in the lower economic levels.

In a parade of school children celebrating Emancipation Day (the thirteenth of May) twelve elementary schools participated, each group being dressed in its distinctive uniform. For example, the boys of one school wore light gray suits with a blue stripe down the trousers, blue belts, and

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

gray caps with blue bands; while the girls wore light gray dresses with blue belts, blue collars, and blue cuffs. Of approximately 325 pupils in the parade, about two-sevenths were black, two-sevenths white, and three-sevenths mulatto, indiscriminately mingled. In eight schools, the proportions were not greatly dissimilar. Two schools, however, were

TABLE 13

COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF THE ETHNIC UNITS AT BAHIA, 1936

School	No. of Schools Sampled	Black	Mulatto	White	Others	Total
Elementary:						
Public	22	438	496	385	16*	1,335
Private	8	40	97	175	3†	315
Parochial	6	31	88	318	13‡	450
Secondary	5§	34	99	300	2‖	525
Superior (Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering)	3	12	88	424	6¶	530
Trade	3	88	122	123	2**	335
Normal	1	45	83	157	0	285

* *Cafuso*, 0; *mameluco*, 7.
† *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 1.
‡ *Cafuso*, 1; *mameluco*, 8.
§ One public, 2 private, 2 ecclesiastical.
‖ *Cafuso*, 2.
¶ *Cafuso*, 2; *mameluco*, 4.
** *Cafuso*, 1; *mameluco*, 1.

principally black and mixed-blood (in one of which there were 16 blacks, 34 mulattoes, 8 whites); and two schools were largely white (in one of which there were 25 whites, 8 mulattoes, and 5 blacks).

During the 1936 Peruada, which is an annual *festa* held by students at the Faculdades, of 168 individuals participating in a parade, 3 per cent were black, 10 per cent were mulatto, and 87 per cent were white.

At the graduating exercises of one of the Faculdades, no

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

festive occasions *sandalias*, or leather "mules," are regularly preferred to *chinelas*, and one often sees the common footwear of the lower class, the *tamancos*, simple sandals with wooden soles and leather toe straps; or, occasionally, cloth slippers. Some women go barefoot.

The *torso*, commonly said to be of Arabic origin, was probably brought to Brazil by the Haussás and other Negro followers of Mohammed who were imported from the areas immediately south of the Sahara. In *Globus* for April 28, 1910,[12] there is a photograph taken in Togoland which shows Negroes wearing *torsos*, *panos da costa*, and *saias* similar to those seen today in Bahia, except that the heavily starched petticoat usually worn with the latter is lacking.[13]

The typical wearer of this costume, or *vestimenta bahiana*, as it is called, is a tall, graceful black woman of remarkable physique, self-confident bearing, and intelligent, cheerful countenance. She is known as a *Bahiana*, the first of whom to emigrate from Bahia to Rio, during the disorders attendant on the struggle for independence, impressed the French visitor Debret as notably different from the black women of Rio, not only in dress, but also in general bearing.[14] "The *Bahiana* came to symbolize, by extension, a gracious (*graciosa*) and spirited creole woman."[15]

> The *Bahianas* were worth seeing at our festivals, with their resplendent costumes; their arms half-covered with gold or silver bracelets; their diamond earrings; their gold necklaces from which hung .... crosses, *figas*, and medallions of the order of *Carmo*, all of gold. .... They completely dominated our religious festivals. .... They

[12] XCVII, No. 16, 245.

[13] The *saia* is commonly worn in Bahia, on days other than those of festival, without starching the underskirt.

[14] J. B. Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, 1816–1831* (3 vols.; Paris, 1835), II, 105.

[15] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

while the *orixás* "partake" of a special sacrifice offered to them. Her hair is cut off, her head shaved,[1] and dots and circles are painted in white upon the crown, forehead, and cheeks. The initiate then takes on *obé* in her hand, the *atabaques* begin to beat an invocation to her *orixá*, and she dances the special dance sacred to him until he "arrives in her head" and she experiences once more the *estado de santo*. The *yaô* is then escorted from the *pegi* to the *camarinha*, where she remains for sixteen days before participating in her first public ceremony, whence she returns to the *camarinha* for a period of six months to a year, to be taught the various rituals of the cult, the songs, and, to some extent at least, an African language. Meanwhile, she is subject to certain food and other taboos.

To verify her acceptance by the *orixá*, a *filha* may be required to undergo without evidence of bodily harm an ordeal, such as swallowing lighted candlewicks soaked in *azeite de dendê*, thrusting her hands into boiling palm oil, chewing the leaves of the *urtiga* (Brazilian thistle), or submitting, on bended knee, to being beaten about the neck and arms with a sprig of the thorny *cansanção*.

Throughout her life the new *filha de santo*, in addition to submitting to the "manifestations" of her *orixá*, must perform on occasion certain ritualistic acts, rigorously observe certain food, drink, and sex taboos, and wear a special costume on ceremonial occasions and "days of obligation" (Fridays especially). On her death this costume, together with the other objects of cult worship belonging to her, are taken and dropped into the sea, "to be carried by the waves back to Africa."

Upon being "made," the *filha de santo* acquires a *guia*

[1] Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

794
793
159
[191]
[292]
[435]
[608]

office of priest) to him. He is dedicated to the same *orixá*, Ogun, as was she, and speaks, he claims, "a little of six different African languages: Nagô, Gêge, Ige-chá, Queito, Egba, and Musurumi." He owns "a roomful" of ceremonial costumes, one of which is said to have cost six contos (approximately $360). He considers his task to be that of "doing good" and refuses to deal in black magic, an attitude which has cost him, it is said, "much money."[1] He is godfather to approximately a hundred and fifteen children and is soon to be godfather to nine others who are on the point of receiving the baptismal ceremony. He visits about the Reconcavo, particularly in Cachoeira, exercising his office of *pae de santo*, and is said to have paid similar visits to Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, in each of which he has "made" several *filhas* and "confirmed" *ogans*.

794

The *achôgun*, or sacrificer, is an elderly black with a kindly face and snow-white hair. The leader of the drummers, or the *alabê*, a jolly black whose mother (now deceased) was a *mãe de santo* in Cidade de Palha, is very expert with the drums, speaks Nagô, and sings in a high-pitched but rather pleasant voice the African *cantigas*, or ritualistic songs. An *ogan* says of him, proudly, "He knows almost as much about African things as a *pae de santo*."

An elderly Negro woman, who walks haltingly with a cane, attends every ceremony. Younger friends carefully help her to a seat where she can see everything that goes on. Leaning forward on her cane, her intelligent eyes wide open, her face continually breaking into beaming smiles, she joins

[754]

[1] An *ogan* of this *seita* says that a *pae de santo* in Itapoan named Gregorio (now deceased) once declined twelve contos (approximately $730) "to make a man mad." This *ogan* knows, however, a *mãe de santo* who, as he says, became angered at the remarks of a young skeptic and "made a *negocio*" (literally a "business"; i.e., black magic) which "drove him mad in two days."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

Xangou" ("Praises to Xangô") or "Louvores á Ogun" ("Praises to Ogun"). A small niche built in above the doorway which leads to the *pegi* is neatly decorated with red and white paper bows, and in it stands a crucifix about ten inches high, together with images of the Virgin Mary with the child Jesus in her arms, of Santo Antonio (St. Anthony), and of São Jorge (St. George).

In a circle in front of the drums are twenty-two women, the oldest of whom is about sixty years of age and the youngest eight. Fourteen are blacks, eight are mulattoes, none of whom is very light. All have serious expressions on their faces, especially the little girl, although none appear in the least bit self-conscious. Six are *yaubs*, or initiates, in the process of being "made," and range in age from fourteen to seventeen years. Two are dedicated to Omanlú (Omolú), and four to Oxun. The Omanlú initiates are dressed principally in shades of red. Strands of hemp died reddish-brown drop from the head to below the knee, completely obscuring the face. Above the head the strands rise vertically and are tied together in a cluster at the end. Below the hem of a dark-red skirt appear white pantalettes which fit tightly over the legs and extend to the ankle. Each girl wears four strands of cowries around each bare arm at the biceps and a long string of cowries over the right shoulder and under the left arm.

The Oxun initiates have their heads shaved, and three concentric circles have been painted in white around the crown. Smaller circles intercept the outer of these three. Large white spots have also been painted on the face, the neck, and the back of the head. Four feathers, one of which is red, one white, one black, and one brown, are held firmly upright at the forehead by a ribbon tied very tightly. Each

[SALVADOR]

/72 cont./

* 563 794 [565] social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since transformed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abilities. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

* 563 554 794 [796] [292] [175] [178] [565]

5: Azevedo--129 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

142
292
793

12. Brotherhood of Blacks.